

SECRET

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The Chinese Communists used the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin in April to discuss in public what had hitherto been primarily a family quarrel. In three major articles and one lengthy speech, Peking gave detailed and forceful elaboration to its views on international affairs. Although most of these views may not have departed in general theory from those held by Moscow, they did conflict sharply with the tactical line which the Soviets had been enunciating, if not pursuing, for many months. The Soviet rejoinder, in a speech by Otto Kuusinen on 22 April (see Attachment), reflected serious apprehension over the Chicom line, probably in recognition that widespread knowledge and understanding of these statements not only could jeopardize Khrushchev's still-professed over-all program for detente and "peaceful coexistence," but could well imperil the whole future of communism in the underdeveloped areas. The Soviet reply, therefore, refuted the bulk of the conflicting Chicom theses, but it was careful to couch this refutation in the form of a reply to "bold publicists in the West." The world press has given considerable attention to portions of the more reckless statements in the two articles in the Chicom theoretical journal Hung Chi (Red Flag) concerning the acceptability of atomic war. ("The result will certainly not be annihilation of mankind.... On the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create with extreme rapidity a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.") Relatively less attention has been paid, however, to the bulk of the statements, which concerned themselves principally with an astoundingly candid exposition of old- and hard-line Bolshevik doctrine--which enunciated in most explicit terms the Chicom dedication to encouragement and support of violent revolution throughout the non-Communist world until such time as all countries become full-fledged members of the Communist bloc. The Chicoms categorically reject any form of government short of a Communist-led "socialist" state, quoting Lenin's statement that "without proletarian dictatorship... no socialism is possible." Lenin is also quoted as "asserting" that "the emancipation of the proletariat can only come by the road of revolution, and certainly not by the road of reformism." Social democrats are dismissed out-of-hand, as are all non-bloc socialist countries: "They only put up the signboard of 'socialism' but actually practice capitalism." The Chicoms divide the world into two types of governments -- "socialist" (Communist) and "bourgeois." They then provide direction for Communists in "bourgeois" states: "The proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military and bureaucratic machinery of the bourgeoisie, and establish a proletarian dictatorship.... It is precisely this fundamental question which forms the dividing line between Marxists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other." And also, "As Lenin said, 'No ruling class in the world ever gave way without a struggle... and no serious Marxist will believe it possible to make the transition from capitalism to socialism without a civil war.'" The Chicoms make a great point of Marx's statement that "the first decree of the Paris commune... was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people...." They then note that: "Marxist-Leninists should never forget this truth: The armed forces of all ruling classes are used in the first place to oppress their people at home.... If the proletariat of any country fails to realize this, it will not find the way to liberation." Peking seizes on Lenin's statement that the opportunity for the "peaceful development of the revolution" is "an extraordinarily rare opportunity" to warn that even when such rare opportunities arise, "the peaceful development... should never be

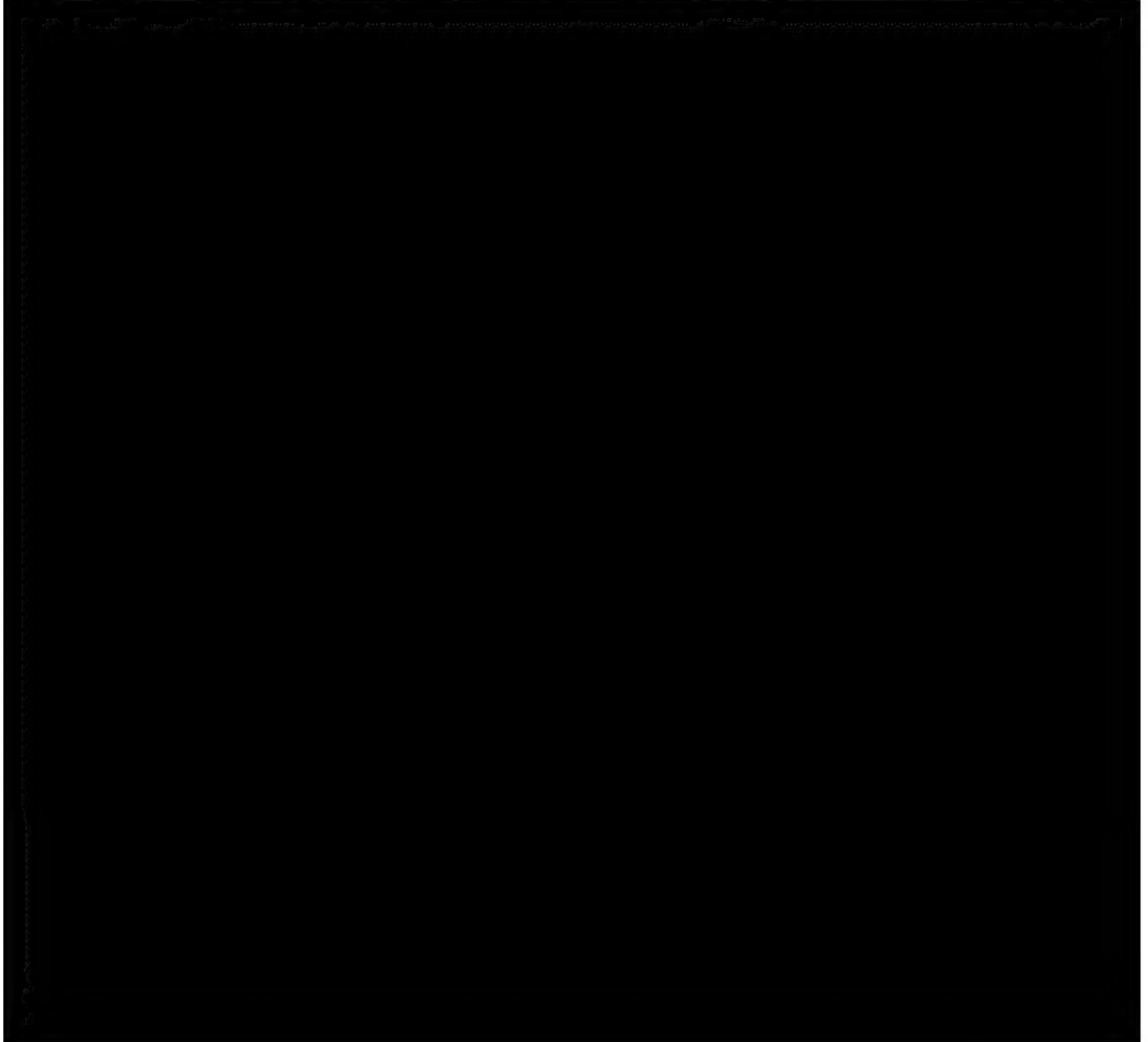
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239. (Cont.)

regarded as the only possibility and it is therefore necessary to be prepared at the same time for...nonpeaceful development." Peking endorses "parliamentary struggles," but only to further the revolution. This warning is even more specific: "We should not have any illusions about the bourgeois parliamentary system...even if the working-class party commands a majority in parliament." They cite "a number of experiences...in various European and Asian countries after World War II" as "fresh proofs" that peaceful transition to socialism is not possible. In enumerating the tactics which Communists should follow to gain power, however, Peking calls for complete "flexibility": "All the means of revolution and forms of struggle, including the illegal and the 'legal,' extra-parliamentary and parliamentary, sanguinary and bloodless, economic and political, military and ideological." "Exchange visits" with the "imperialist countries" and the "endeavors to sign agreements of peaceful coexistence or treaties of nonaggression," are seen as useful tactics for "socialist" countries to take in the fight for "world peace," but the Chicoms are careful to point out that "peaceful coexistence between nations and people's revolutions in various countries are by nature two different things." Thus, Peking can sponsor "peaceful coexistence" while abetting revolutions everywhere, because "revolution means the overthrow of the oppressors as a class by the oppressed people within a country" and "all revolutions are just wars." But even in its peace propaganda Peking has become super-cautious: "Marxism-Leninism absolutely must not sink into the mire of bourgeois pacifism." The Chicoms aver that revolution can not be "exported" but dodge this nicely by seeing the seeds for revolution present in every non-"Socialist" state and then pledge themselves to support such struggles "resolutely and without the slightest reservation...until socialism has triumphed throughout the world." They point out that the CCP has had "extremely rich experience" both in "uniting with" and "struggling against the bourgeoisie" and can therefore lead the way for others in all forms of struggle.

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Attachment to Guidance item No. 239.

- I. Peking, NCNA, in Chinese Hellschreiber to the Press, March 30, 1960; text of article by YU Chao-li in seventh 1960 issue (1 April) of Red Flag in honor of 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth -- "On Imperialism as the Source of War in Modern Times, and On the Way for All Peoples to Struggle for Peace":

Lenin taught us that in the era of imperialism, the system of imperialism is the source of war.... Their exploitation and oppression of the people at home, their domination and plunder in the colonies and the semicolonies, and the rivalry between the groups of monopoly capital in various countries, in fact, breed new wars....

Eisenhower and his like will never lay down their butcher knives, and, ...as an imperialist power, the United States will never abandon its policy of war....

Facts show clearly that, as Lenin pointed out more than 40 years ago, the danger of war at present still lies in the imperialist system.... Imperialism is by nature predatory.... The imperialist policy of plunder is bound to lead to war....

There has been no change whatever in this characteristic of imperialism since the end of World War II.... Imperialism will never change its nature and basic policy....

According to Leninist theory: "...In the era of imperialism, national wars waged by the colonies and semi-colonies are not only possible but also inevitable.... (NCNA ellipsis). The national wars waged by the colonies against imperialism will inevitably be a continuation of their national liberation policy. "...

Lenin held this viewpoint:.... "Only by means of launching a proletarian socialist revolution, will it be possible to emancipate mankind from the hopeless situation caused by imperialism and the imperialist wars. Despite the extreme difficulties, or possible and temporary defeat in launching the revolution, and the intensified resistance against the revolution, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable. "...

"Civil wars are also wars. Whoever recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars which in every class of society constitute the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development,

Attachment I. (Cont.)

and intensification of the class struggle.... To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution. "...

The history of the 15 postwar years also bears out more clearly than ever the brilliance of this scientific thesis of Lenin cited above....

With regard to the means of realizing the transition from capitalism to socialism by each country, it is the internal affair of each country and naturally will be decided by the people of each country. The socialist countries will absolutely not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Revolution cannot be exported. The inevitability of revolutions in the capitalist countries is an objective law of history and independent of human will.... The Marxist-Leninist parties do not reject peaceful means for carrying out revolution, but when the exploiting class uses violence against the people, the possibility of employing the other means has to be considered; namely, the transition to socialism by non-peaceful means. The historical experience of mankind shows that the ruling class will not give up state power of its own accord....

Precisely because the imperialist system is the source of modern wars and the imperialist forces of war headed by the United States are daily creating dangers of war, the people of the whole world must assume the obligation of struggling for peace....

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the unswerving struggles of the broad masses of oppressed people for complete national independence and against the old and new forms of colonialism constitute an important, indispensable force in the peace movement....

Even though imperialism does not unleash a world war, it may start localized wars in certain areas when opportunities come up....

We must maintain the highest possible vigilance against the dangers of war created by imperialism. Just as was pointed out in the Moscow conference declaration: "As long as there is imperialism, there will be soil for unleashing wars of aggression. "...

But should we be afraid if the war maniacs, against the will of the people of the world, unleash a war? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given a Marxist-Leninist reply: "... "We stand resolutely for peace and oppose war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude toward

all 'disturbances': (1) we are against it; (2) we are not afraid of it. World War I was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. World War II was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism. Then there will not be much room left in the world for the imperialists, while it is quite likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse."

(FBIS, Far East, No. 65, 4 April 1960)

- II. Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia, April 19, 1960, "Long Live Leninism!", article in "current issue" (15 April) of Red Flag:

... The proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military and bureaucratic machinery of the bourgeoisie, and establish a proletarian dictatorship to replace the bourgeois dictatorship.... It is precisely this fundamental question which forms the dividing line between Marxists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other....

Lenin asserted that... the emancipation of the proletariat can only come by the road of revolution, and certainly not by the road of reformism. ... The socialist countries should maintain constant vigilance against the danger of imperialist attacks and do their best to guard against this danger. ...

Without proletarian dictatorship... no socialism is possible, no victory of socialism is possible.

Lenin considered it of prime importance that the proletariat should establish... a communist party--if the proletarian revolution is to be carried out and the proletarian dictatorship realized and consolidated.... Its program is to organize the proletariat and all oppressed working people for class struggle, to set up proletarian rule, and to pass through socialism to reach the final goal of communism....

On the whole the storm of the national liberation movement is sweeping over Asia, Africa, and Latin America on a daily-increasing scale....

The present world situation has obviously undergone tremendous changes since Lenin's lifetime, but these changes have not proved the obsolescence of Leninism; instead, they have more and more clearly confirmed the truths...

The modern revisionists represented by Tito advance a revision of the teachings of Lenin (that is, modern Marxist teachings) in keeping with the needs of the imperialists.... Marxist-Leninists must... further arouse the revolutionary will of the masses of people....

There are different types of countries with social systems fundamentally different in nature. One type belongs to the world socialist system, the other to the world capitalist system....

Lenin... came to the conclusion that the hope of humanity lay entirely with the victory of the proletariat and that the proletariat must prepare itself to win

victory in this great revolutionary battle and establish proletarian dictatorship....

We are always struggling against imperialist war, for the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons, and for the defense of world peace....

If, however, we lose our vigilance against the danger of the imperialists' launching a war, and do not work to arouse the people of all countries to rise up against imperialism but tie the hands of the people, then imperialism can prepare for war just as it pleases and the inevitable result will be an increase in the danger of the imperialists' launching a war. And, once war breaks out, the people may not be able quickly to adopt a correct attitude towards war because of complete lack of preparation or inadequate preparation, and thus will be unable to vigorously check the war....

As long as the people of all countries raise their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also making modern weapons, it can be definitely stated that if the United States or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all humanity by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will be the very speedy destruction of those monsters.... And the result will certainly not be annihilation of mankind....

On the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create with extreme rapidity a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves....

The capitalist -imperialist system absolutely will not crumble of itself. It will be pushed over by the proletarian revolution within the imperialist country concerned, and the national revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries....

Lenin tells us that we must draw a distinction between two types of states different in nature, the state of bourgeois dictatorship and the state of proletarian dictatorship, and between two types of violence different in nature, counter-revolutionary violence and revolutionary violence; as long as there is counter-revolutionary violence, there is bound to be revolutionary violence to oppose it. It would be impossible to wipe out counter-revolutionary violence without revolutionary violence. The state in which the exploiting classes are in power is a counter-revolutionary violence, a special force which represents the exploiting classes in suppressing the exploited classes.

Attachment II: (Cont.)

... Even if it is compelled not to use these new weapons, the imperialist state will of course still remain an imperialist institution of violence until it is overthrown and replaced by the people's state--the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat of the country....

Lenin... said: "Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time."

The foreign policy of socialist countries can only be a policy of peace.... The socialist system determines that we do not need war, absolutely would not start a war, and absolutely must not, should not, and could not encroach one inch on the territory of a neighboring country. Ever since its founding, the People's Republic of China has adhered to a foreign policy of peace. Our country, together with two neighboring countries, India and Burma, jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; and at the Bandung conference of 1955 our country, together with various countries of Asia and Africa, adopted the 10 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence....

So long as there is a continuous development of these mighty forces, it is possible to maintain the situation of peaceful coexistence, or even to obtain some sort of official agreement on peaceful coexistence or to conclude an agreement on prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons.... However, under these circumstances as long as the imperialist system still exists, the most acute form of violence---namely, war---has by no means ended in the world. We believe in the absolute correctness of Lenin's thinking: War is an inevitable outcome of exploiting systems, and the source of modern wars is the imperialist system. Until the imperialist system and the exploiting classes come to an end, wars of one kind or another will always appear....

All types of war represent the continuation of the policies of definite classes. Marxism-Leninism absolutely must not sink into the mire of bourgeois pacifism....

As Lenin put it, "Theoretically, it would be quite wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of politics by other means." ... The proletariat and the people of all countries must also use two tactics to counter the imperialists: the tactic of thoroughly exposing the imperialists' peace fraud and striving energetically for a genuine world peace, and the tactic of preparing for a just war to end the unjust war when and if the imperialists should unleash it....

The Yugoslav revisionists deny the inherent class nature of violence and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between revolutionary violence

Attachment II: (Cont.)

and counter-revolutionary violence; they deny the inherent class nature of war and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between just war and unjust war; they deny that imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist policy, deny the danger of the imperialists unleashing another big war, deny that it will be possible to do away with war only after doing away with the exploiting classes...

Peaceful coexistence between nations and people's revolutions in various countries are by nature two different things, not the same thing;... Peaceful coexistence refers to relations between different nations; revolution means the overthrow of the oppressors as a class by the oppressed people within a country....

We are Marxist-Leninists. We have always considered that the question of revolution is a nation's own affair.... Revolution can neither be exported nor imported. No one can prevent the people of a foreign country from carrying out a revolution, nor can one manufacture a revolution in a foreign country as if "helping the rice shoots to grow by pulling them up."

Socialist countries never permit themselves to send, never should, and never will send their troops across their borders unless they are subjected to aggressive attack from a foreign enemy.... The spread of revolutionary ideas knows no national boundaries....

Revolution means the use of revolutionary violence by the oppressed class, it means revolutionary war. This is true of the slave revolution; this is also true of the bourgeois revolution.... As Lenin said: "No ruling class in the world ever gave way without a struggle.... Not a single great revolution in history has ever been carried out without a civil war and no serious Marxist will believe it possible to make the transition from capitalism to socialism without a civil war."

Whenever the opportunity for the "peaceful development of the revolution" presents itself communists must seize it, as Lenin did, so as to realize the aim of the socialist revolution. The opportunity as such, however, is always, in Lenin's words, "an extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions." But even then, the peaceful development of the revolution should never be regarded as the only possibility and it is therefore necessary to be prepared at the same time for the other possibility; i. e., non-peaceful development of the revolution....

Marxist-Leninists should never forget this truth: The armed forces of all ruling classes are used in the first place to oppress their people at home. Is this conclusion valid for all countries in which the exploiting classes dominate, and for all capitalist countries? ... In our opinion, this truth

remains irrefutable and the facts are confirming its correctness more and more. Really, if the proletariat of any country fails to realize this, it will not find the way to liberation. In "The State and Revolution" Lenin focused the problem of revolution on the smashing of the bourgeois state machinery. He quoted the most important passages from Marx's "Civil War in France: ..." "...the first decree of the commune...was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people..." (Ellipsis by NCNA)....

The declaration of the Moscow meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries of November 1957 states: "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the bitterness and forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism."

The proletariat must never allow itself to one-sidedly and groundlessly base its thinking, policy, and its whole work on the calculation that the bourgeoisie is willing to accept peaceful transformation. It must, at the same time, make two preparations: one for the peaceful development of the revolution and the other for the non-peaceful development of the revolution. Whether the transition will be carried out through armed uprising or by peaceful means is a question that differs categorically from that of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries; it is an internal affair of each country, one to be determined only by the relative strength of the classes in that country in a given period; a matter to be decided only by the communists themselves of that country....

Lenin held that every proletarian party should make use of every possible opportunity to participate in necessary parliamentary struggles.... Why is it necessary to engage in parliamentary struggle? ... "Precisely for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class, precisely for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant, rural masses." ... In other words, it is to enhance the political and ideological level of the masses, to coordinate parliamentary struggle with the revolutionary struggle, and not to lower our political and ideological standards and divorce parliamentary struggle from the revolutionary struggle. We must identify ourselves with the masses without lowering our revolutionary standards--this is a fundamental principle which Lenin taught us that we must adhere to in our struggle.

We shall take part in parliamentary struggles, but we should not have any illusions about the bourgeois parliamentary system. Why? Because so long as

Attachment II: (Cont.)

the state machinery of the bourgeois warlords and bureaucrats remains unchanged, parliament will remain an ornament of the bourgeois dictatorship even if the working-class party commands a majority in parliament or becomes the biggest party in it. . . . It is, therefore, difficult to imagine that changes will take place in a bourgeois dictatorship itself on account of votes in parliament, and it is just as difficult to imagine that it is possible for the proletariat to adopt measures in parliament for a peaceful transition to socialism just because it has won a certain number of votes. A number of experiences in capitalist countries long ago proved this point fully and the experiences in various European and Asian countries after World War II provide fresh proofs of it.

Lenin said: "The proletariat cannot be victorious unless it wins over to its side the majority of the population. But to limit or condition this to the gathering of a majority of votes at elections while the bourgeoisie remains dominant is the most utter stupidity or simply swindling the workers."

Lowering revolutionary standards means lowering the theoretical standard of Marxism-Leninism. It means lowering political struggles to the level of economic ones and reducing revolutionary struggles to within the limits of parliamentary struggles. It means bargaining principles to achieve temporary benefits. . . .

The proletariat in any country, if it wants to gain victory in the revolution, must have a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party which is good at integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice in its own country, correctly determining whom the revolution should be directed against at different periods, settling the question of organizing the main force and its allies and the question of whom it should rely on and unite with. . . . If it fails to do so, the proletariat will not be able to achieve its purpose of gaining victory in the revolution at different periods. The modern revisionists and certain representatives of the bourgeoisie try to make people believe that it is possible to achieve socialism without a revolutionary party of the proletariat and without the series of correct policies of the revolutionary party of the proletariat mentioned above. This is sheer nonsense and pure deception. . . .

Now, as a result of the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the decay of the capitalist system, more and more of the mass of the people in various countries are aspiring to socialism and more so-called socialism of different shades has emerged from among the exploiting classes in certain countries. . . . They only put up the signboard of "socialism" but actually practice capitalism. In these circumstances it is extremely important to adhere firmly to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and to wage an

Attachment II. (Cont.)

irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to lower the standards of the revolution, especially against revisionism and right opportunism.

In regard to the question of safeguarding world peace at the present time there are also certain people who declare that ideological disputes are no longer necessary, or that there is no longer any difference in principle between communists and social democrats. This is tantamount to lowering the ideological and political standards of communists to those of the bourgeoisie and social democrats. Those who make such statements have been influenced by modern revisionism and have departed from the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism are two different kinds of struggle. It is a mistake not to draw a proper distinction between these two kinds of struggle.... We communists are struggling for the defense of world peace, for the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Meanwhile we support the revolutionary wars of the oppressed nations against imperialism...because all revolutionary wars are just wars....

(FBIS, Far East, No. 77, 20 April 1960)

- III. Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia, April 21, 1960, "Forward, Along the Path of the Great Lenin! in People's Daily article in commemoration of Lenin's 90th birthday.

... Lenin pointed out: ... the state is a machine for the violence of class rule, the proletariat must use revolutionary violence to overthrow counter-revolutionary violence, smash the bourgeois warlord-bureaucrat state machinery, and set up a new state of the proletarian dictatorship....

The many victories won by Marxism-Leninism all over the world and in China have made it increasingly clear that the truth of Marxism-Leninism is invincible, and that it is the guide to action for all the world's oppressed classes and oppressed people to use in winning liberation and for the people throughout the world to use in marching towards socialism and communism....

The east wind is prevailing over the west wind.... This new condition has brought unprecedented confidence and courage to all the world's peace-loving forces, all the anti-imperialist and anti-aggressive forces. But this does not in the least mean that this change in the relationship of forces has changed the nature of imperialism and therefore altogether eliminated the possibility of any war from the life of modern society so that mankind has already entered an epoch of lasting peace. Leninism has always held that imperialism is the source of modern war.... The Moscow meeting of communist and workers parties held a little over two years ago adduced the latest facts to substantiate this principle of Lenin's. The declaration of the Moscow meeting said: "So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars.... The peace forces are legion. They can prevent war and safeguard peace. However, we, the communists, believe that it is our duty to warn all the people of the world that the danger of a monstrous and annihilating war has not passed.... Peace can be preserved only if all to whom it is dear combine their forces, sharpen their vigilance in relation to the machinations of the war instigators, and become fully conscious that their sacred duty is to intensify the struggle for peace, which is threatened."....

The socialist countries, of course, never interfere in the internal affairs of any other countries, including the imperialist countries....

While imperialism survives and continues to pursue its policies of aggression, oppression, and plunder by means of violence, the socialist countries always adopt an attitude of sympathy and support for the oppressed nations and exploited people in their resistance struggle. Because their struggle represents the will of the people, weakens the imperialist forces, and is favorable to world peace, is it not extremely absurd to think that the development of this struggle and the support extended to it are unfavorable to peace?....

Attachment III. (Cont.)

The greater the strength of the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist, peace-loving people of the world, the greater becomes the possibility of preventing war. Therefore, expanding the strength of the socialist countries, of the national liberation movement, of the emancipation movement of the proletariat in capitalist countries, and of the peace-loving people of the world makes possible a more effective prevention of imperialist war and defense of world peace....

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the advance of the socialist construction of the People's Republic of China are inseparably connected with proletarian internationalist support. The Chinese people can never forget to be grateful for this support, nor forget their responsibility of supporting with their efforts the international proletariat and oppressed nations. Precisely for this reason, Chairman Mao Tse-tung emphatically pointed out... that "summarizing our experiences and putting them in a nutshell: the people's democratic dictatorship is led by the working class (through the communist party) and based upon the alliance of the workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite with all international revolutionary forces. Such then is our formula, our main program."

The Chinese people will forever advance bravely along the great Lenin's road toward the victory of the Chinese socialist cause, the victory of the cause of world peace, and the victory of the cause of socialism throughout the world!

Now, new sources of world storm have opened up not only in Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America. There is no longer any secure rear for imperialism over the earth... Let the Chinese people and the other peoples of the world work together to secure even greater victories for Leninism, the Marxist theory of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in the period of history that is now ensuing!

(FBIS, Far East, No. 79, 22 April 1960)

Attachment to Guidance item No. 239:

- IV. Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia, 22 April 1960, "Get United Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!", report delivered 22 April by LU Ting-i, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP, at the meeting to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin:

... The special characteristic, the essence, of Leninism lies in its thorough proletarian revolutionary character. Leninism not only wholly revived the revolutionary content of Marxism, which had been emasculated by the revisionists of the Second International, and restored the revolutionary keenness of Marxism once dulled by them, but further developed the revolutionary content and sharpened the revolutionary keenness of Marxism in the light of new historical experience under new historical conditions....

In the epoch of imperialism... contradictions can be resolved only by revolutions....

The revolutionary spirit of Leninism has its outstanding expression in the doctrine of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.... Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian revolution must smash the bourgeois state machinery and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He said: "The latter (the bourgeois state) cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in the process of withering away; as a general rule, this can happen only by means of a violent revolution. ..."

Without the proletarian dictatorship there can be no victory of socialism..

Lenin brilliantly applied and developed the Marxist idea of uninterrupted revolution, regarding it as a fundamental guiding principle of the proletarian revolution. Lenin set forth the principle that the proletariat should obtain the leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution and transform the bourgeois democratic revolution without interruption into the socialist revolution. Lenin further pointed out that the socialist revolution is not the final goal and that it is necessary to continue advancing to accomplish the transition to the higher stage of communism.... "In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, and so forth account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe.... In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."

Attachment IV. (Cont.)

Our party twice cooperated and twice split with the Kuomintang--political party of the bourgeoisie--and therefore has extremely rich experience on the question of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie. Our party has rich experience not only in armed struggle but in peaceful struggle as well. The ideas of the proletariat's grasping leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution, of the proletariat's leading the peasant masses to carry out a thorough democratic revolution, of the democratic revolution as a peasant war and an agrarian revolution, and of uninterrupted revolution in turning the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, as expounded by Lenin, were correctly and concretely applied by the CCP under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The Marxist-Leninists regard this as an unprecedentedly favorable new epoch for the proletarian revolution in the countries of the world and for the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies.... The people of the whole world must further intensify the struggle against imperialism, promote the development of revolution, and defend world peace....

Whether we should carry out revolution and whether we should oppose imperialism have become matters of fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists....

Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that in revolutionary struggle there should be firmness in principle and flexibility in tactics. All the means of revolution and forms of struggle, including the illegal and the "legal," extraparliamentary and parliamentary, sanguinary and bloodless, economic and political, military and ideological--all these are for the purpose of unmasking the imperialists to a fuller extent, exposing their aggressive features constantly raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people, achieving broader mobilization of the masses of people to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries, developing the struggle for world peace, and preparing for and winning victory in the people's revolution and the national revolution....

In the struggle against imperialism and its policy of aggression, it is entirely permissible and necessary, and in the interests of the people of various countries that, wherever possible, the socialist countries conduct peaceful negotiations and exchange visits with the imperialist countries, strive to settle international disputes by peaceful means instead of war, and endeavor to sign agreements of peaceful coexistence or treaties of non-aggression....

We combat dogmatism in order to push ahead the revolution and overthrow the enemy. Modern revisionists are doing just the opposite. Opposition to dogmatism is for them only a pretext under which they oppose revolution,

Attachment IV. (Cont.)

seeking to do away with it, to misinterpret and adulterate Marxism-Leninism. In Lenin's words, "They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its doctrine, its revolutionary soul...."

Revolution is the soul of Marxism-Leninism.... Marxist-Leninist formulations on individual questions may change with the passage of time and changes in the situation, but its revolutionary spirit is absolutely unchangeable. Revolution is the locomotive of history, the motive force of man's social progress....

U. S. imperialism is the last pillar of international imperialism. If the proletariat in the capitalist countries is to win emancipation, if the people of the colonies and semi-colonies are to obtain national liberation, if the people of the world are to safeguard world peace, the spearhead of the struggle must be directed against U. S. imperialism....

No force on earth can hinder or restrain the colonial and semi-colonial peoples from rising in revolution and smashing the yoke they are under. Their revolutionary struggles play the role of shaking the foundation of the imperialist system. All revolutionary Marxist-Leninists should support these just struggles resolutely and without the slightest reservation. Similarly, no force on earth can hinder or restrain the proletariat, and working people in the capitalist countries from rising in revolution to overthrow the reactionary rule of monopoly capital. All revolutionary Marxist-Leninists should likewise support these just struggles, resolutely and without the slightest reservation....

Lenin maintained that the proletariat in the socialist countries must... support the continuous advance of the cause of proletarian revolution in other countries...until capitalism has perished and socialism has triumphed throughout the world....

"Modern revisionists...deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism, and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organization and, above all, of democratic centralism, and advocate transforming the communist party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society." Modern revisionism is, at present, the chief danger in the international communist movement....

The Communist movement has from the outset been an international movement. International proletarian solidarity is the basic guarantee for the

Attachment IV. (Cont.)

victory of the people's revolutionary cause in all the countries of the world, of the national liberation cause of oppressed nations, and of the people's struggle for world peace. In the interests of the socialist countries, of the proletariat and working people of all countries, of the liberation of oppressed nations, and of the defense of world peace, we must at all times strengthen international proletarian solidarity....

Under the guidance of the revolutionary doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist cause of the proletariat certainly can and will win complete victory throughout the world....

(FBIS, Far East, No. 79, 22 April 1960)

V. Moscow, Soviet Home Service, 22 April 1960, text of speech by Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow, 22 April:

"... Our party has always supported the liberation struggle of enslaved peoples and their right to self-determination.... However, we have a wider understanding of the international duty of our socialist country. We understand it to be extending aid to any liberated people which are not members of the world socialist system.... The road to consolidation of the independence of liberated countries is the road of developing their national economy, advancing their culture, and improving the living standards of their people.... Appreciating this, the USSR develops its economic cooperation with them accordingly....

There are bold publicists in the West who assert that Lenin was allegedly an opponent of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems.... However, these gentlemen are carefully passing in silence over all Lenin's policies during the first peaceful years of the Soviet regime.... The principle of peaceful coexistence both then and now lies at the basis of the entire Soviet foreign policy.... Of decisive significance was the conclusion of the 20th and 21st party congresses concerning the absence of any fatal inevitability of wars in our epoch, concerning the possibility for avoiding war. In drawing such conclusion the party has made a new contribution to Marxism....

To be loyal to Marxism-Leninism today, it is not enough to repeat the old truth that imperialism is aggressive.... A dogmatic position is an obsolete position.... The insistent and enterprising system of the Soviet Government has brought results.... The active struggle of the Soviet Government for peace and for peaceful coexistence gives our foreign policy an innovating and creative character....

There appears, side by side with the enemies of peace, sober-thinking statesmen who admit that war, using new means of mass destruction, would be madness.... To Marxists there is nothing puzzling in this.... Lenin... foresaw "the time will come when war will become so destructive as to be impossible."... The main task now is to achieve disarmament....

(FBIS, USSR & East Europe, No. 80, 25 April 1960)

240. Trotsky's Assassin

On 6 May 1960 Ramon Mercader, alias Jacques Mornard, alias Frank Jacson etc. was released by the Mexican government from his 20-year prison sentence which was to expire on 20 August 1960. This individual, convicted of killing Leon Trotsky on 20 August 1940, was taken in charge by two Czech officials at the airport. After a week's stopover in Cuba he was to be offered asylum in Prague, where he would be safe against revenge by Trotsky followers. The story which led to the assassination of Trotsky has been effectively told in The Mind of an Assassin by Isaac Don Levine, and covered by Life magazine of 28 September 1959. The early release of the murderer, the confusion over his identity and his disappearance behind the iron curtain are all elements of the efforts made by the Soviets to avoid publicity over this hired assassin of the Stalin regime. Mercader was born in Barcelona on 7 February 1914. His mother, Caridad Mercader, born in Cuba in 1892, played an important part in the Spanish Civil War as a sort of junior Pasionaria and in the Soviet international underground. To friends she would describe how Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos and other Communist leaders looked in the nude; for many years she was the mistress of Leonid Eitingon, a high officer in the NKVD who trained special agents in assassination. He was Mercader's teacher and later trained Nikolay Khokhlov, sent to kill the leader of the NTS in Frankfurt (Khokhlov refused to carry out his assignment and defected). Mercader, pretending to be a Trotskyite, infiltrated the home of the exiled Soviet leader to carry out his mission. When arrested, he was carrying a false biography in the name of Jacques Mornard Vandendreschd, allegedly the son of a Belgian diplomat. He confessed to his crime but not to his real identity. He claimed that he killed Trotsky because the latter wanted to send him to the USSR to subvert Stalin's regime. The dual identity of Ramon Mercader and Jacques Mornard was established by the Mexican police through fingerprinting. Jaime Ramon Mercader del Rio had been arrested in Barcelona on 12 June 1935 and had been in prison in Madrid. Khokhlov, after his defection, testified that he knew of a Spaniard, trained in Moscow, who was sent to Mexico under the name of Mornard. Ramon Mercader's mother, now living in Paris, was decorated with the Order of Lenin in 1940 for her part in liquidating that "dangerous enemy of the people" and given for safekeeping, until his release, the Order of the Hero of the Soviet Union for her son. She showed this decoration to Enrique Castro Delgado, the Spanish representative of the Comintern in Moscow who later broke with the Communist party. Mercader was refused parole because he never felt any repentance for his crime. On the contrary, he was proud of it, convinced, he said, that the death of Trotsky was of benefit to the working class. He has been described as a "trained political assassin who takes pride in his proficiency", "a soulless monster", "the Kremlin's happy robot of the future".

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FRIENDSHIP UNIVERSITY

(Moscow 1960)

Friendship University Opened

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions--the Founders of Friendship University--have, at a joint meeting, appointed Professor Sergei Rumyantsev Rector of the University.

For a number of years Professor Rumyantsev, Doctor of Technical Sciences, headed a chair and was in charge of an institute. From 1955 to 1959 he was Deputy Minister of Higher Education of the U. S. S. R. and then Deputy Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the U. S. S. R.

The Founders of the University have formed a University Council from representatives of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the U. S. S. R. Committee of Youth Organizations and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the U. S. S. R.

The Founders resolved that the University Council shall also include the Prorectors, the Deans of the Departments and members elected by the teaching staff and the students of the University.

The University Council examined and approved the Rules of Admission to Friendship University for 1960 which are published below.

The Government of the U. S. S. R. is providing Friendship University with premises for its departments as well as with housing and other amenities in Moscow and is allotting the necessary funds for the equipment of its laboratories and study rooms.

Rules of Admission for 1960

Friendship University will enrol students in the following departments: engineering (specialities: construction and operation of machinery; building; prospecting, extraction and utilization of minerals); agriculture (specialities: agronomy and zootechny); medicine (specialities: medical treatment and pharmacy); physico-mathematical and natural sciences (specialities: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology); history and philology (specialities: history, literature, Russian language); economics and law (specialities: economics and national-economic planning; international law).

Men and women up to the age of 35, irrespective of race, nationality or religion, are eligible for admission to the University.

The period of studies in the University's Department of Medicine is five years. In the other departments it is four years.

Citizens of Asian, African and Latin-American countries may send their applications for admission directly to the University or through the embassies and consulates of the U. S. S. R. abroad.

Applicants with a general secondary education received in their respective countries are admitted to the first year of studies at Friendship University by decision of the University Council after verification of their knowledge.

Persons lacking the required grounding may be admitted to the University's Preparatory Department in order to complete their general secondary education during a period of one to three years.

Persons with a general secondary education but lacking a knowledge of Russian will also be enrolled in the University's Preparatory Department for a period of up to one year.

Applications for admission to Friendship University are accepted up to July 31 inclusive.

Applications should be addressed to the Rector of the University together with:

- 1) autobiography and two photographs;
- 2) certificate of education;
- 3) medical certificate of health.

An Admission Committee under the Rector of the University, presided over by him and consisting of the academic Prorector, Deans of the Departments and Professors, is set up to examine the applications for admission.

The Admission Committee examines the applications, organizes the verification of the applicants' knowledge and submits its recommendations for the consideration of the University Council.

An applicant's knowledge may be verified either in his own country, with the collaboration of universities and other higher or secondary schools of that country, or at Friendship University.

The University Council's decision to enrol or not to enrol an applicant is final. Notification of the decision is sent by the University to the applicant.

Enrolment in the University is completed by September 1, instruction begins on October 1.

Tuition at Friendship University is free of charge. The University provides all students with grants, free medical care and hostel accommodation (but not for members of the students' families) and bears the students' travel expenses to and from Moscow.

The address of the Admission Committee of Friendship University is: Friendship House, 16 Ulitsa Kalinina, Moscow, U.S.S.R.